

# The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, APRIL 5, 1877.

## The Week.

THE President and the Cabinet decided on Monday, at latest, after fully hearing both Chamberlain and Hampton, to withdraw the troops from the State-House at Columbia and leave the contending parties in the State to settle their disputes without interference. This, of course, for practical purposes, amounts to a recognition of Hampton as the lawful governor, and is so looked on by all parties, including Chamberlain himself. The troops will retire to their barracks on Tuesday next, when Hampton will be in full possession of the government. On Saturday last Chamberlain, at the request of Mr. Evarts, addressed a letter to the President setting forth in detail his reasons for thinking that the troops should not be withdrawn, and that Hampton should not be recognized. We cannot say that the document will raise his reputation. He represents himself as having called for troops in October to "suppress violence and insurrection," and gives a somewhat vague account of the nature of the violence and insurrection; treats the election as a perfectly fair one, and the result of the canvass as undisputed, and says the troops were placed in the State-House simply to protect the lawful State government, of which he is the head, against attack and overthrow. His claim for the presence of the troops does not, in his opinion, involve "an assertion of a claim to the permanent presence and aid of the United States in upholding a State government," "because the present condition of affairs is the disputed title to the governorship"; the troops keep the peace while the dispute is going on, and until it is determined, and then if further aid of troops is needed it will, he says, "be demanded, extended, or denied under the well-known provisions of the Constitution, etc."

The substance of this is that he needs troops now because he is the lawful governor, and is afraid of Hampton and the rifle-clubs; he needs them, too, because he is having a dispute with Hampton about the governorship; and when the dispute is over, if he needs them again, he will ask for them, and so on. His idea evidently is that a State government is not "permanently" upheld by the United States troops if different reasons are given in succession for their presence, such as that there is insurrection against the lawful governor; that the governorship is in dispute, and the public peace threatened; that the dispute is over, but the beaten party will not submit. By keeping up a judicious supply of new reasons the troops might in this way be kept for ten years, or for ever, and we should come to have two kinds of State governments in this country—"troop governments" and "popular governments." His further objections are that the withdrawal of the troops will be practically a decision in favor of his opponent, because his opponent is physically strong enough to overthrow his (Chamberlain's) government—a fact which is very creditable, he says, to his own supporters, inasmuch as they are so "law-abiding" that they will not "resort to violence, even in defence of their rights"—a virtue which is admirable in the nursery, but which it is somewhat comic to see claimed with pride by a numerical majority in a free State as a solid title to power. He declares that the withdrawal of the troops is not necessary to enable Hampton to maintain his legal rights by peaceful means; that professions of this kind from that quarter are hypocritical; that the various investigations have shown that his (Chamberlain's) accounts of the condition of the State are not exaggerated, and that the removal of the soldiers will close the struggle which he and his supporters have been carrying on against "fraud and violence."

The plan of settling all disputed election cases by a High Commission has such strong attractions just now for Republican politicians that it was not surprising to find Messrs. Chamberlain, Patterson, and Corbin proposing it as a means of ending the South Carolina imbroglio. The compromise proposed to the Cabinet embraced the following details: First, a submission of all returns of the election for governor and lieutenant-governor, and other papers and evidence bearing thereon, to a commission of five persons, who should finally decide the contest, and declare the results of the election; or, second, the submission of all the returns of the election of members of the House of Representatives, and other papers and evidence, to a like commission, who should declare what persons had been duly elected members of the House, such persons then to organize, and the election of governor and lieutenant-governor to be submitted to the Senate and the House so constituted. Three different ways of selecting the commission were proposed: *first*, by appointment of the President; *second*, by the choice of two persons by each party, the Chief-Justice of the United States making the fifth; *third*, two persons by each party, the fifth to be chosen by the other four, by lot or otherwise. The advantages of this scheme, except that it created a commission, and would cause delay, were not obvious, while objections to the settlement of contested State elections, after the highest court of the State had already decided them, by the President, by the Chief-Justice, or by anybody else, selected by lot or in any other way, were serious, and necessarily led to the rejection of the proposition by the President.

The Louisiana Commission has been appointed and has started for the scene of its labors. It differs very much in composition from the investigating bodies hitherto sent down, as its members have not been engaged in the canvass as rabid partisans, and are known to the country as men of character and ability and moderate views. They are Messrs. Hawley, of Connecticut; Lawrence, of Illinois; Wayne McVeagh, of Pennsylvania; Harlan, of Kentucky; and Brown, of Tennessee. Harlan is a Southern Republican; Brown, an ex-Confederate general; Wayne McVeagh has been long a Liberal Republican; Hawley was a Bristow man; and Lawrence was a highly-respected member of the Illinois bench, deposed for his honesty by the Grangers in their earliest and most dishonest period. There is hardly a possibility that they will report in favor of either permanent or temporary "troops," and will probably try to bring the disputants to an agreement by having the Legislature canvass the election returns of its own members, as it is constitutionally empowered to do, thus setting aside the decisions of the Returning Board, and then, perhaps, induce the Republicans to content themselves with a Senator or some other little thing, and let Nicholls keep the governorship if he is wicked enough to do so. He has, like Hampton, the preponderance of physical force, and the Packard men are too "law-abiding" to resist him, so that if accommodation is impossible the President will probably follow the South Carolina precedent.

In the various discussions about this matter we see the Cabinet frequently referred to by Republican papers as the President's "constitutional advisers," generally apparently with the view of shifting to them a portion of the responsibility of his action at the South, whatever it may be. It is proper to remind those who use this phrase, however, that the President has no "constitutional advisers" in the sense in which it is used in England. His taking counsel with his Cabinet or not is, therefore, a matter purely within his own discretion. Its members are not responsible to anybody for giving him bad advice, as the English ministers are, and the Constitution does not provide for his consulting them as a body on questions of general policy. It

is, of course, perfectly wise and proper that he should in most matters be influenced by what they say; but it is right to add that no opinion of theirs, even if unanimous, would justify him in disappointing any just expectation of the country based on the platform on which he was elected, or violating any pledge distinctly made to the voters before he was elected. The people voted for *him*; they did not vote for his Cabinet, and they have no means of calling his Cabinet to account. We do not make these remarks with any application to existing circumstances, but to guard against any apparent desire on the part of the newspapers to weaken still further what has for a good while past been weak enough—the sense of official responsibility in high places.

The Legislature of Massachusetts has indefinitely postponed the laws proposed by the State Board of Railroad Commissioners to protect the public interests in case of future strikes of railroad employees. This result illustrates one of the dangers of a too decisive victory. The defeat of the Boston and Maine strike was so sudden and utter that it seems to have excited a sort of feeling of sympathy and compassion in the average legislative breast. Meanwhile, though we do not see why the public should have no protection against self-willed railroad engineers, we are very glad that the legislation proposed did not become a law. It would simply have retarded the more important movement of the railroad companies towards protecting themselves, which we discussed in our issue of March 22. They must not be allowed to rely on penal legislation. To be of real value the remedy must be far more radical, and include the entire destruction by the companies of all trades-unions among railroad employees. This can only be brought about in the way recently indicated in the *Nation*. Penal statutes never will do it. Meanwhile, events in this matter are moving in the direction pointed out by us far more rapidly than we had anticipated. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers is not disposed to rest satisfied with its defeat by the Boston and Maine, and accordingly the engineers of the Philadelphia and Reading road selected this very inopportune time to ask for a twenty per cent. increase in their pay. The alternative, it is fair to presume, was the usual one, and we are glad to see that Mr. Arthur was early on the ground making "addresses." President Gowen of the Reading is, however, a gentleman of a good deal of firmness and has a large and varied experience in connection with "Brotherhoods." He met the danger at once, fairly and squarely. The Reading engineers, some four hundred in number, were notified that they must once for all elect between the Brotherhood and their employers. That no injustice might be done them, the corporation declared its purpose of endowing a benevolent and life-insurance association of the character suggested by the *Nation*, securing to its employees greater benefits than they could derive from any trades-union. As we go to press, the indications are that the engineers will, almost to a man, remain with the road and abandon the Brotherhood. The example set by the Reading will doubtless be generally followed by the other large corporations.

The city aldermen have unanimously adopted resolutions looking to a removal of the capital from Albany to New York, and the scheme has sufficient support to attract some little discussion in the newspapers. There is a great deal to be said in favor of it apart from all questions connected with the new Capitol building. The separation of the State capital from the commercial capital of the State and country has always had the effect of making the largest material and intellectual interests of the State seem to its legislators remote and unimportant, and they have consequently got into a way of dealing with city affairs as if they were those of a dependency or province. Added to this has been the feeling, greatly stimulated by the war, that New York was a wicked place, controlled by an ignorant foreign vote, sunk in sin and iniquity of all kinds, the home of Jay Gould and the late James Fisk, Jr., and

consequently in need of a good deal of discipline and correction at the hands of the pure rural representatives in the way of new election laws, charter amendments, and license and tax laws; while the very just complaints that these arbitrary enactments have called forth have gradually come to be treated as of no more consequence than the writhings and foamings at the mouth of persons out of whom devils were being exorcised. This would probably be a good deal ameliorated by bringing the capital to the city, as the Legislature could not escape the force of the public opinion of the community in which they passed a considerable part of the year, nor of the papers they read, nor of the general tone of thought. It would probably also tend to clear up many of the confused notions they have on the subject of the public service, and convince them that efficient public servants cannot be obtained at bricklayers' prices in a place where the general scale of living is such as prevails in New York.

The plan of the Municipal Commission is beginning to attract the attention of those most interested in its being carried out, and the Chamber of Commerce and Produce Exchange have appointed committees to push the proposed constitutional amendments. If they can be got through the present Legislature they can be submitted to the people in the fall of 1879; but we doubt if the action of commercial bodies only will be sufficient to rouse the Legislature into action. The general mass of taxpayers, particularly the small taxpayers, on whom most of the burdens of taxation at present ultimately rest, are most deeply interested in the reform advocated by the Commission, and it is very doubtful whether the Legislature can be brought to take much interest in the matter until they see that the demand for action is general. Public meetings, concerted action among the large cities, and permanent committees to promote the passage of the amendments are now talked of, and seem to be necessary if anything is to be accomplished.

A call of the Legislature has drawn from the Comptroller a statement of the legal expenses incurred in suing the members of the Ring, and trying to recover some of the stolen money, and we venture to say it will cause a good deal of both surprise and indignation. The city has recovered \$630,849, of which, we believe, nearly \$600,000 was voluntarily surrendered by Watson's widow, and the remainder by Woodward; but the payments made to lawyers amount to \$135,264, and the total expenses, including the enormous sum of \$66,394 to an "accountant," reach \$226,711. One lawyer, Mr. Peckham, got \$57,581; another, Mr. Lyman Treiman, who has not been very prominent in the litigation, \$25,000. The other fees do not seem large, but one cannot help asking why so much legal assistance was necessary. The most extraordinary items in the accounts are, however, fees of \$15,000 to Mr. Geo. T. Curtis and \$12,500 to Mr. John K. Porter. Is it not true that these gentlemen were retained in the sham suits against the Ring instituted by Mr. O'Gorman before the real *bona-fide* proceedings began, and if so, what services could they have rendered to the city worth \$27,499.70, and who was audacious and lavish enough to pay them? As things have gone, we fear taxpayers will conclude that it is more economical to let rogues get off with their plunder than employ lawyers to catch them.

Shortly after his return to this country, Tweed addressed a letter to Charles O'Conor, informing him that he was overwhelmed by his reverses—"an old man, greatly broken in health, cast down in spirit," and unable any longer to bear his burden. He proposed to abandon altogether the legal struggle, to employ no more counsel, to deliver up his property and his papers, and to put himself at Mr. O'Conor's disposal in furtherance of the latter's aim to "permanently purify the public service." Mr. O'Conor recommended to the Attorney-General the acceptance of this surrender, and negotiations

are now in progress looking to Tweed's release. The "permanent purification of the public service" is likely to involve some well-known characters, whose relations with the Ring have hitherto only been surmised, in lasting disgrace. Oakey Hall's flight to England is commonly attributed to his knowledge of what was coming. *Harper's Weekly* has published a minute account of Tweed's escape and subsequent life in hiding, based upon the "Old Man's" diary. It reads like a dime novel. The fact that Tweed kept a diary will be sad news to many of our "leading citizens."

A bill under consideration in the Michigan Legislature has for its object "to protect the elections of voluntary political associations, and to punish frauds therein." It provides that no one shall take part in a caucus, a primary, or a nominating convention who is not a resident of the locality, or entitled to vote at the next election held there, or who has on the same day voted at a "pre-primary," or has directly or indirectly received a bribe for his vote, or "has been promised any fee, or reward, or intoxicating drinks for his vote." The bill then empowers the chairman or clerk of the meeting to reject the vote of any person shown thus to be disqualified upon challenge and after examination under oath, and makes the penalty for voting after being challenged, or for false swearing upon examination, a fine of not less than five nor more than fifty dollars, or imprisonment from ten to ninety days, or both; and the same penalty is prescribed for any disturbance of the meeting against the ruling of the presiding officer, as well as for the refusal, on the part of any officer, to receive or entertain any vote offered in compliance with the provisions of the act. Except as a sign of the times we cannot say that we attach any great value to this legislation. The standpoint of electoral reform nowadays is that the people who do not attend caucuses and primaries are more in need of protection than those who do; and as the former do and always will largely outnumber the latter, their case is the one which calls first for a remedy. Just now the course for States to pursue seems to us quite other than the regulation of the details of our political machinery. Let them rather put themselves in unison with the principles and policy of the present Administration in regard to civil-service reform; let them be more solicitous to keep State officers than non-residents away from the caucuses; and let them steadily seek to elevate and restrict the suffrage by taking it out of the hands of the ignorant and the vicious, and by making the forfeiture of it a real penalty and disgrace. When all this has been accomplished it will be clearer than it is now how much need there is for legislation like that proposed in Michigan, how far it can be enforced or evaded, and how much good it will do.

The Governor of Georgia has issued a proclamation submitting to the popular vote a constitutional amendment which has already passed two successive legislatures. It provides against the payment, under any circumstances, of some seven millions of bonds with arrears of interest for six years, amounting altogether to about nine millions. These bonds are of several different classes, and the debt which they represent was contracted during the reconstruction period for various purposes, and there is no question that some of the proceeds of their sale were squandered and misappropriated by the Bullock ring, while with regard to some of the issues there may be doubts as to the authority of the State to contract any debt. Under the idea that this was true of all of the bonds a feeling has been gaining ground in Georgia for some years that the entire debt ought to be repudiated, and has led to the passage of this proposed constitutional amendment by two legislatures. In reality, however, the State received the full benefit of a very large proportion of the total amount, the money having been spent in the construction of railroads and for other internal improvements. To repudiate these obligations *in toto* would undoubtedly produce great injustice and suffering. As an instance of what would be the effects of the passage of this amendment, we may mention the case of the holders of several

thousand dollars' worth of bonds belonging to an issue of \$2,200,000 authorized in 1870. The State compromised with the holders of all this class of bonds, but expressly excepted from the benefit of the arrangement these particular bonds (interest on which was accordingly stopped), on the ground that they were held by Henry Clews & Co., and that the State had an offset against them. An examination made by authority of the State showed, however, that instead of Clews & Co. being in the State's debt the State actually owed them money, while the bonds to which we refer were not in their hands at all.

The Stock Exchange markets have been unsettled during the week by trouble among the trunk-line railroads in reference to their agreement of last December to charge uniform rates to the seaboard; by the contest between the telegraph companies, and by the negotiations looking towards another coal combination. The trunk-line trouble arises out of allegations that the Baltimore and Ohio has violated the December agreement by according to favored Baltimore grain firms rates much below the schedule. This having been proved to the satisfaction of the Northern lines, they have threatened to be no longer bound by the agreement but to act independently, and as we go to press are only hesitating to carry out these threats because it is possible that the Baltimore and Ohio may make some amends. Should there be no settlement, the railroad war of last year will be renewed. The real trouble is that there is not business enough for all the roads, and the question is whether the respective lines shall be content with their share of the business at fairly remunerative rates, or shall in endeavoring to get more than their share reduce the rates so that the whole business will become unprofitable. The telegraph war is of less importance. It involves only two companies, one of which has nearly all the business, and the other just enough to be able to control rates, which have already been reduced fully three-fourths what they were a year ago. The coal companies are all in such straits that even the best of them seem willing to forego sound methods for a recovery of the trade, and to enter into a combination in all respects resembling that of last year, except that it does not propose to endeavor to put the price so high as then. As we go to press it has not been decided whether there will be a railroad war or another coal combination. A feature of the stock speculation was a sudden break-down in Panama stock from 120 to 80, and in Pacific Mail stock from 21 to 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ , caused by the reported embarrassments of Mr. T. W. Park, who for several years has been identified with both companies. On the day when Panama fell from 120 to 80 the company declared a quarterly dividend of 3 per cent.

The news of the signing of the protocol does not seem to restore confidence in the preservation of the peace in Europe. In fact, as we pointed out last week, it seems to leave the final decision still dependent on the ability of Russia and Turkey to come to terms. The protocol is to be backed up by a *procès verbal* or rider containing Russia's declarations explanatory of the protocol, and one of these is that Russia is willing to demobilize and receive an envoy from the Porte for the purpose of arranging for disarmament on both sides, if Turkey will make peace with Montenegro and show a real desire to set about the work of reform. But then making peace with Montenegro is not an easy matter, and "reform" is a vague term, which Russia, if desirous of fighting, may construe as she pleases. The one certain result of the protocol seems to be that the immunity from foreign interference secured to Turkey by the Treaty of Paris is lost; all else is uncertain. The warlike signs are the growing excitement among the Mussulman population, and the growing counter excitement among the Russian peasantry, who are not as sensible of the financial inconveniences of war as the court and the nobility. In fact, it may be said that the probability of war is still strong. The most interesting news from Germany is that Bismarck has been granted a long release from the cares of the chancellorship.

## THE POLITICAL SOUTH HEREAFTER.

THE dissolution of the last sham government at the South—an event which we have a right to believe cannot now be long delayed—will place the Southern States, as regards the rest of the nation, in a position which they have not before occupied for almost a generation. Heretofore, in the discussion of nearly all national questions, the most embarrassing and vexatious element at any time to be considered, and frequently an overwhelmingly important one, was “the South.” This term designated a number of contiguous States, bound together by mutual interest in the maintenance of a social system which was understood to be inimical to the feelings, at least, if not to the welfare, of the inhabitants of all other States; and “the South” was always, therefore, a more definite term than “the West” or “the North.” Slavery dominated every other interest, and held the Southern States together in political unity. The phrase “the solid South” was a legitimate one before, during, and even after the war, and only recently has it become a political bugbear. But the threefold cord which bound the Southern States together—the defence and perpetuation of slavery, the struggle for the establishment of an independent confederacy, and the trials of reconstruction—no longer exists, and nothing has taken or can take its place. For a time, perhaps, traditions of the dead “institution,” war memories, and the possession of a race of freedmen may together do something toward perpetuating a united South, but the union will surely be mostly in appearance, and any little reality which it may possess will speedily give way before opposing and stronger forces.

We believe the proposition to be almost self-evident, indeed, that hereafter there is to be no South; none, that is, in a distinctively political sense. The negro will disappear from the field of national politics. Henceforth the nation, as a nation, will have nothing more to do with him. He will undoubtedly play a part, perhaps an important one, in the development of the national civilization. The philanthropist will have still a great deal to do both with him and for him, and the sociological student will find him, curiously placed as he is in contact and competition with other races, an unfailing source of interest; but as a “ward” of the nation he can no longer be singled out for especial guardianship or peculiar treatment in preference to Irish laborers or Swedish immigrants. There is something distasteful, undeniably, in the idea of one who has played so important a part in our past political history making his final exit in the company of the Carpet-baggers; but for this unfortunate coincidence the negro is not to be blamed.

The disappearance of the factitious interest which made the South politically a unit will permit the rapid development of several natural and obvious disintegrating forces which, indeed, have been already in operation for some time, but the results of which have been obscured by the overshadowing interloper which has just been disposed of. Climate, soil, natural productions, diversity of pursuit, and varieties of race will certainly disintegrate politically the States of the South as well as the States of the North. The “sunny” South, of course, was a fiction, an agreeable convention only, for in the matter of climate the South presents variations comparable at least with any to be found in the North. St. Louis, St. Augustine, and New Orleans, for instance, are as diverse in climate as are any three cities which might be selected in the Northern States. The pecuniary ties, moreover, which unite some Southern States to the North are already stronger than any which bind them to their former political associates. Missouri, for instance, in its commercial relations and sympathies is a Northern State, as, in a modified sense, are Maryland and Delaware; and Florida apparently is set apart already as the winter home of wealthy and invalided Northern men, whose influence upon the tone of its policies begins to be perceptible notwithstanding the hubbub of its recent performances in counting electoral votes. Again, it is evident that the cotton, rice, tobacco, and cane-producing districts of the South will attract very different classes of people, and beget

very different manners and opinions from those inevitably associated with mining and manufacturing communities. Thus South Carolina will soon differ from Missouri even more than Vermont does from Pennsylvania or Minnesota from Massachusetts. Political disintegration at the South may show itself most plainly at first in connection with the discussion of economic questions. There is to-day throughout all the Southern States, probably, a traditional inclination towards free-trade, although the leaning is not a very decided one, and the change from this to an opposing attitude is a process which may be witnessed soon in several of them. Is it not possible, at least, that the cotton and rice States may increase their present leaning towards free-trade, while Louisiana, Virginia, and Kentucky demand protection against Cuban sugar and tobacco? Or, on the other hand, may not South Carolina yearn for Government aid in the establishment of manufactures, and New Orleans sigh for free-trade in Mississippi products? Will the present great poverty of the Southern States, again, incline them to give ear to the jingle of “silver” theories, and make “greenback” delusions easy of belief, or will the memory of their own once plentiful “scrip” be a sufficient protection against indulgence in financial heresies? And will the South look with longing eyes upon visions of canals and railroads until it heedlessly begins the cry for internal improvements at Government expense, or will it be warned by the ghosts of Crédit Mobilier and Northern Pacific? It is evident, we believe, without lengthening the list of these enumerations or suggestions, that the Southern States may soon be as divided upon the subjects of tariff, currency, *laissez-faire* or paternity in government, etc., as we have been and still are at the North, and if New Hampshire and North Carolina should happen to join hands in defence of some political theory in opposition (say) to Louisiana and New York, the South would soon become as vague an expression, from a political point of view, as “the West” is now.

The future of the freedman will be bound up undoubtedly with that of the white man, and does not now require separate consideration. Great numbers of negroes will certainly remain upon the cotton-fields, rice-swamps, and cane and tobacco plantations, and, being employed as field hands, their political opinions for a long time to come will inevitably reflect those of their employers. Others will learn to work in factories or become mechanics and small farmers, and, generally, all over the South for a long time, negroes will fill the places now filled at the North by Irish, German, and Chinese laborers. The political influence of the freedman, considered as distinct from that of the white man, will be almost imperceptible. His ultimate influence upon our civilization, as determined by the relative fecundity of the two races, and their action and reaction upon one another as the negro becomes better educated and more independent, is a subject which can be discussed more profitably a generation hence.

Generally speaking, while the political breaking up of the South will do away with a powerful barrier to national advancement, and will bring each State into closer sympathy with the national Government, nevertheless we hardly expect to receive any immediate and valuable aid from the South toward the solution of our present executive, judicial, and legislative problems. In this, however, we may happily be mistaken. It is true that the South has long been more “provincial” than the North, that it is far from possessing similar educational advantages, that it is now almost barren of literary productions or literary and scientific men, and that these facts would seem to indicate a natural soil for the germination and growth of all kinds of crude and coarse theories of society and government; but, on the other hand, it is not easy to imagine the South developing theories more crude than some now cherished in Indiana and Pennsylvania, and which find shelter even in New York and Massachusetts. We are inclined to believe, also, that the average man of the South is a more pliant and enthusiastic follower of his chosen leader than the average man of the North, and the Gordons, Hills, Lamar, and Hamptons may be depended upon to exert a widespread and, in the

main, healthful influence. We cannot forget that it was the well-digested plan of a Southern Gordon with regard to the collection of revenue to which a Northern Merton could give no friendly reception and could make no better reply than a taunt and a sneer. But the important point to be remembered here is the fact that *all* political contributions of the South, of whatever character, will hereafter go towards the upbuilding of a national as distinguished from a "sectional" unity. For the first time in our history we are entitled to assert that there is no danger of national dissolution. Heretofore our chief attention has been given to the saving of national life, and only incidentally have we been able to consider its character or to decide upon the best methods of perfecting it. We can now devote ourselves to legitimate politics—that is, to studies of governmental science—with a fair prospect of being able to throw some light upon many of the unsolved problems of modern life.

#### THE MORALITY OF THE STUMP.

THE change of tone in the Republican press about the relations of the Federal Government to the Southern States goes on more rapidly than ever. The use of "troops" to protect "the Republican party between the Potomac and the Rio Grande" appears to have absolutely no defenders left. The saffron and devoted Carpet-bagger is indeed told, in good set terms, that he is a pernicious person, that he has seriously damaged the party, and had better come home. There has not been since the outbreak of the war a more rapid modification of opinion, and we should welcome it with unalloyed pleasure if it were not for one thing. We are of the number of those who believe that in politics as in other fields of activity words should express convictions, and that, after making due allowance for the froth and exaggeration of campaign rhetoric, there should run through the speeches and articles of a Presidential canvass a distinct and substantial vein of truthfulness and sincerity; that writers and orators on the one side and the other, and especially on the side which professes most respect for principle as distinguished from mere expediency, should, if they do not believe all they say, at least believe a great part of it, and have a certain firmness of hold on their own doctrines. We have commented more than once on the dishonesty—we cannot use a milder term—of "supporting Hayes" in the late canvass by pretending not to see, hear, or know anything of the preachings and policy of the leading Republicans on the stump and in the Cabinet. We must now add, that to those who think there is any morality in politics, and that words ought to stand for ideas, the sudden conversion of these gentlemen to the President's policy, especially with regard to the South, is by no means a gratifying spectacle. Colonel "Bob" Ingersoll, for example, has been delivering a lecture in the leading cities in which he openly repudiates nearly every doctrine on which he laid stress in the late canvass as one of the principal orators of the Republican party. He acknowledges that he did what in him lay to arouse feelings of hostility in the North towards the Southern whites, and to strengthen the theory by which the South was treated as conquered territory, and its constitutional rights overridden in the supposed interests of the blacks. He is now engaged, however, in recommending a policy of conciliation, kindness, and strict legality, and treats his sudden conversion as a capital joke, over which he invites the audience to laugh. There have of late been several exhibitions of this kind, though perhaps none so gross in their cynicism, and a large part of the public is not unnaturally disposed to overlook the moral repulsiveness of them in consideration of the assistance they give to what is considered the wise and prudent course of the President. Of course we do not underrate their practical value, but we cannot overlook the great stimulus they are likely to give to political charlatany. Party politics is in a bad enough condition we all know, but politicians had not hitherto reached the condition of complete shamelessness which is involved in the joking abandonment in March of opinions which they promulgated in October with the utmost solemnity; and we do not think

the more sober and honest portion of the public can easily witness this shamelessness without a certain loss of self-respect.

Of course, men may honestly change their opinions within half a year, but decency requires that the change should take place on subjects which they do not profess to have maturely considered. The Southern problem was not at the late election in this category. It had been a burning question for eight years, and the Cincinnati platform was an implied condemnation of the course of the late Administration. We can see the possibility of an honest man's believing the platform to be pernicious and mistaken, and trying to destroy its effect while advocating Hayes's election; but the man who does this up to the day of the inauguration, and then, finding that he is on the losing side, comes out and declares his past preachings to have been in the nature of a joke, plays a part which is usually assigned to "confidence men." Parties are a necessary agency in a free state, but to be in any sense salutary they have to be carried on by persons who, even if they do not believe what they say, are sure to stick by their colors, and stand or fall with their own doctrines. Without this, party responsibility is not possible, and irresponsible parties are little better than gangs of condottieri. The fatal objection to the plan of "reform within the party" was that it involved either a humiliating confession by the party leaders of complicity in abuses, or else an impudent readiness to adopt whatever seemed to be the winning opinion. Leaders capable of this are only fit to head factions in a jail-yard: they are not fit to lead any portion of a free people in a trial of strength in debate and at the polls with the holders of adverse views of public policy. All such contests in civilized states are supposed to be conducted in the main by honest men, whose sober utterances express their real feelings, and who, if they cannot get the majority on their side, are ready to accept the ordinary penalties of constitutional defeat.

If we said that this conversion of our orators and public men into mere talkers, who neither feel nor profess any moral responsibility for their language, and treat their defeat at the polls or the repudiation of their views by their President as a lawyer treats the loss of a case, was due, in a considerable degree, to the condition of the civil service, we should say something which will now seem trite, but we should not be very far wrong. Mr. Evarts declared in his campaign speech last October that the office-holders were killing statesmanship among us, and he could hardly have said a truer thing. Nearly every man on the Republican side who took an active part in politics during the Grant régime, had risen into prominence or power by the dexterous use of patronage, and had not unnaturally lost his interest in public questions, as things which could neither help nor hinder him. As long as he kept in general loose agreement with "the party," and could keep the right men in the offices of his State or district, he found he need not trouble his head very much about the problems which were vexing the souls of patriotic men outside politics. The result was that by the time Grant retired, the currency, the civil service, and the South were all themes which leading politicians approached half-jestingly, and, like the doctors who are ready to treat you either homeopathically or allopathically as you please, were prepared to take any ground upon them that seemed likely to be most popular. It was in this state of mind that they entered on the late canvass. To the honest, upright consideration of the Southern question very few of them had given any serious reflection—in fact, reflection is something they mostly avoid on all subjects—but it seemed to them that the public was ready to be roused by the cry of "the bloody shirt" and the memories of Andersonville. Finding since the election that conciliation and peace are the popular idols, they turn right round and ask you to join them in laughing over their own excesses, with apparently as little sense of moral identity as a old toper to whom you recall the lying excuses on which he made his last loan. This is doubtless funny, but it is a sort of fan that is too serious to last. It is high time for us to put men into public life to whom party contests are something more than games of poker, and who have convictions which defeat at the polls cannot destroy on

the great questions of the day : but there is little use in putting any kind of men in public life unless some better means than any now existing can be devised of bringing them promptly to book for foolish talk and lawless action—a matter which we propose to discuss more fully hereafter.

#### WALTER BAGEHOT AND THE *ECONOMIST*.

**I**N the death of Walter Bagehot, owner and editor of the London *Economist*, financial journalism has lost its acknowledged head, and England one of its best writers on political philosophy and government. The position of the *Economist* among newspapers is exceptional. Although attached to the views of the Liberal party in Great Britain, there is hardly another journal printed in our language which is so judicial in its character, and which has acquired such a hold on public confidence not in England only, but also on the continent of Europe and in the United States. It is not merely a financial paper, though primarily devoted to the interests of commerce, banking, and railways, but equally vindicates its claim to the title of a "political, literary, and general newspaper." No other prominent journal so strictly represents the mind and thought of its editorial head, for the reason, probably, that so large a part of its leading articles have been the work of his own hand ; while those who have assisted his labors have learned to think and write like him. It is impossible to predict what the *Economist* will become in other lands than those of Mr. Bagehot, and it is hardly to be hoped that it can continue to enjoy the influence and popularity which he has given to it.

The birth of the *Economist* in 1843 was significant of the revolution which had taken place in English politics. The passage of the Reform Bill closed a chapter in political history ; a chapter whose first pages were written by William Pitt, and its closing lines by Macaulay and Lord Brougham. Many years elapsed before the question of the suffrage—of personal participation by the subject in the government of the country—became again prominent. In that interval the ascendancy of material interests in English politics, now the controlling influence in the Government of Great Britain, was definitively established. The *Economist* was the fruit and exponent of the new régime. Singularly enough, its establishment was partly due to the incapacity of the *Examiner* to realize and conform to the new aspect of public questions ; or, what is equally probable, to the reluctance of its editor to share the honors of his position with a new and ambitious aspirant. "Sei non omnes omnia possumus." What Albany Fonblanche had so brilliantly accomplished in the field of political reform it remained for another master mind to achieve in the new field of commercial and financial legislation. The prophet of the new dispensation was James Wilson. He proposed to Mr. Fonblanche "to contribute gratuitously to the *Examiner* papers on economical and financial subjects. His offer was refused, and he then established a journal which should be the especial vehicle of his philosophy on these sciences, and which he proposed to sustain mainly by his own exertions." In its early years the *Economist* was almost wholly the work of his own hands. He wrote not only the leaders, but a majority of the lesser articles ; and, what is of hardly inferior importance in journalism, he arranged and classified all its various information in such a manner that readers of every class knew just where to find the matter that concerned them, and were sure to find it.

In the seventeen years which intervened between the establishment of the *Economist*, in 1843, and the relinquishment of its control by Mr. Wilson, on going to India as Finance Minister, at the end of 1859, there occurred a series of economical events not less momentous than those political ones which had made the reputation of the *Examiner*. The father of the modern commercial system of England was doubtless Mr. Huskisson. If Canning and Huskisson had not prematurely died, the public affairs of Great Britain would probably have taken a different turn after 1827. Political and religious reforms might have been postponed, but commercial and financial reforms would certainly have been hastened. Even after Canning's death a good beginning was made by Mr. Huskisson, Sir Henry Parnell, and Mr. Poulett Thompson. The Finance Committee, from which great things were expected, was created in 1829, and in 1830 the question of taxation was discussed by these statesmen with a breadth and liberality hardly surpassed in later times. The very measures which were successfully carried by Sir Robert Peel fifteen years afterwards were brought forward by them at this time. They all agreed in recommending large remissions of taxation upon various raw materials of industry and articles of consumption, and they were equally agreed in favoring the imposition of a property or income tax. The further prosecution of these economical objects was, however, arrested by the all-absorbing question of Par-

liamentary reform, and, after that question had been disposed of, by the emergence of Irish issues, which first divided and ultimately destroyed the Reform Cabinet. The agitation of revenue reform, and especially the demand for relief from popular burdens, began about 1838, and for twenty years afterwards hardly any other domestic questions were considered than such as related to taxation, commerce, industry, or finance. The income tax was imposed by Sir Robert Peel in 1842 in the face of great opposition from the Whigs, and solely for the purpose of balancing the Budget. He had at that time no disposition to reduce duties for the sake of revenue : but a partial readjustment and remission of certain duties, adopted by him in the interest of protection, produced results so advantageous to the Treasury that the great Tory statesman became an unwilling convert to the doctrine of free-trade. Thus, under Tory auspices, by Huskisson first and by Sir Robert Peel and his political legatee, Mr. Gladstone, afterwards, were the great commercial reforms, which have made England the first of producing and trading nations, conceived, promulgated, and carried into operation. The Bank Act of 1844 was also the work of Sir Robert Peel, as had been the act for resuming specie payments in 1819.

Such were the influences under which the *Economist* was established, and such were the questions in the discussion of which its pre-eminence and influence were attained. Mr. Bagehot succeeded to this great inheritance in 1860, when by the removal of his father-in-law, Mr. Wilson, the control and management of the paper passed into his hands. In the absence of any biographical sketch of him which has as yet reached this country, the facts of his early life are imperfectly known. He was a writer for the *National Review* during the short life of that excellent periodical, and a volume of his collected essays was published soon after 1860. We recall, in particular, one of high merit on Sir Robert Peel. He has never been in public life, though twice a defeated candidate for Parliament—once for Manchester, and, at a later election, for the London University. His talents were not of the popular order, nor had he such persuasive manners or fluency of speech as would be likely to conciliate the difficult constituency of a great manufacturing town. He would doubtless have gained something and given much by occupying a seat in the House of Commons, but his noble career as a journalist would have been endangered by closer political ties. In the *Economist* he occupied a judicial and not a partisan position, and no journalist in England has with equal conscientiousness and impartiality judged the domestic, foreign, and international questions with which English journalism has had to deal. America owes him great respect and gratitude for his honest treatment of her civil war. He began on the Southern side, on the same general grounds which influenced Mr. Gladstone at that period, but his eyes were gradually opened to the true nature of the contest, his sympathies enlisted on the side of right principles, and his calm judgment satisfied not only that the North must certainly prevail in the end, but that it was better for England and for the world that it should prevail. The integrity of this uninfluenced conversion won for Mr. Bagehot the warm friendship of many Americans. Since the war the *Economist* has, in America, entirely supplanted the *Times* as the representative of financial opinion in Europe ; yet during all those years of heated railway speculation, when a word in its columns would have made the fortune of any enterprise seeking English capital, the integrity of its judgments was never questioned, and it has never even been suspected of improper influences. Nor has its place in American confidence been won by any flattery of our country or its institutions. In all its discussions of our affairs there has been a manifest desire to get at the truth and to speak it fearlessly.

While Mr. Bagehot probably lacked the creative and organizing power which enabled Mr. Wilson to establish the *Economist* and place it on so firm a footing, he has nevertheless greatly increased its reputation and authority. In 1843 there was neither precedent nor constituency for such a paper. Its precedent has been numerously followed—*sed longo intervallo*—both on the continent of Europe and in the United States, and it has created a constituency of its own over which Mr. Bagehot has exercised a greater personal influence than was ever acquired by his predecessor. He has been a recognized authority in Europe on financial questions. He was one of the few Englishmen invited to testify before the French Commission on Banking, Currency, and Credit in 1865, and he was an important witness before the English Silver Commission of 1876. The circumstance that he was a practical banker has been of great advantage to him as a journalist, as were similar business experiences to his predecessor. It may not be generally known in America that he was one of the proprietors of Stuckey's Bristol and Somersetshire Bank, and that he took an active part in its

management, visiting Somersetshire—his native county—every week on this business. The bank is a very old and important institution, having by far the largest note circulation of the English joint-stock banks.

Mr. Bagehot's publications have been numerous, and his pen was never more fully occupied than within the past five years, during which his three most considerable works, 'Lombard Street,' the 'English Constitution,' and 'Physics and Politics,' have been published. He has lately been a frequent contributor to the *Forthright Review*. Finance, government, and political philosophy have been his usual topics, and he has discussed them with great acuteness and learning. The contrast drawn by him in his book on the 'English Constitution' between parliamentary and presidential government—the English and the American systems—is the best exposition of these kindred yet differing forms of polity. Many readers were surprised that he should still consider the sentiment of loyalty to the crown as an important bulwark of the English constitution, the popular impression being that loyalty to the Queen and royal family is only a traditional sentiment. Those Americans, however, who happened to be in England in December, 1871, when the Prince of Wales was struck down by a sudden and appalling illness, and who witnessed the outburst of sincere and *repentant* loyalty which his danger and the rumor of his death called forth, need no better proof of the continued vitality and strength of the sentiment.

Mr. Bagehot is the third among the foremost economists of England who have died within a few years, those who preceded him being John Stuart Mill and Professor Cairnes. Each has left a place unfilled, and which it will be difficult ever to fill.

#### STENDHAL'S BONAPARTE.

PARIS, March 9.

**N**APOLEON I. is an inexhaustible subject. Every poet of this age, every historian, has written about him, and we have known somebody who collected a "Napoleon Library" which filled a large room, and had from two to three thousand volumes. Here is one more, and a small one, which would hardly be noticed if we did not see on its title page the name of Stendhal (Henri Beyle).<sup>\*</sup> The fame of Stendhal is as great now as the fame of his friend Mérimée; but Mérimée jumped into fame in his own lifetime, while Stendhal did not conquer the indifference of his contemporaries. I have always looked upon the 'Chartreuse de Parme' as a real masterpiece, one of the happy few novels that can live and triumph over time. If you were asked to write the names of twenty good novels, you would find it very difficult. I for one would place the 'Chartreuse de Parme' on my list; but, I daresay, the book can only be well appreciated by those who are familiar with Italian life.

Henri Beyle was half an Italian. He was a civil employé in the administration of the French army; as such he was detained in Lombardy under the Directory, and was attached to General Michaud during the Italian campaigns. In after-life he was for years consul-general of France at Civita Vecchia, spending most of his time in Rome, where he wrote various books on the history of art. His friends, who had come to power in 1830, nearly forgot him—he was buried in Italy; he made from time to time terrible efforts to get a hearing in France, but "les absents ont toujours tort," as the saying is. It is very fortunate that he was away from Paris; his descriptions of French life are very inferior to those of Balzac, while Balzac could never have written the 'Chartreuse.' Stendhal's great French novel, 'Le Rouge et le Noir,' certainly has great parts, but on the whole it is an odious book; the hero is as repulsive as the worst scoundrel of the realistic school. Like his friend Mérimée, Stendhal had a sort of affection for the *natural man*, for the brigand of Corsica, for the *condottiere*, the man who obeys the strong impulse of passion; but while he could find in Italy charming or terrible specimens of his *natural man*, he could not in an over-civilized country like France. The hero of 'Le Rouge et le Noir' is a *brigand* in Paris, a place where brigands cut a very poor figure, as they are dressed like ourselves and have to find their way not among bushes and between precipices, but among the rules of a cold and cruel society, and between the hedges of the Code Civil. The hero of 'Le Rouge et le Noir' is a villain who ends his days on a vulgar scaffold, and when the knife of the guillotine falls upon him the reader feels that the time has not yet come for the abolition of capital punishment.

You can always follow a central idea in all the works of an eminent writer; and Stendhal may certainly, with all his defects, be ranked among the eminent men who flourished during the romantic period. He was

eminently a materialist: he was lost in admiration of the strong men, well endowed with passions by a bountiful nature, who goes through life like a bold lion, a conqueror, sacrificing everything to his own appetites. Such men are unconscious; they work like natural forces, like the wind or the tide. It matters little with Beyle in what sphere they move, provided they show their innate force, their contempt of rule, their indomitable energy. They are all fatalists, all superstitious; the unbelievers of the 'Chartreuse de Parme' all have their little peculiar superstitions, like foolish old gamblers. They are not necessarily brutal: they can be as gentle as lambs, almost angelic; but the angelic form covers a devil. The angelic Fabrice, the hero of the 'Chartreuse,' is always ready to commit a murder; he is generous, chivalrous, brave, but his passion—the passion of the moment—leads him to his unknown fate. Blind, of course, always ready to meet his destiny. He becomes a bishop, but under the bishop's gown he is still a brigand.

And so is Napoleon in Stendhal's eyes. Not that he takes the word in any bad sense; on the contrary, the brigand is his ideal man. Napoleon is the great *condottiere* of history; he is a magnified Sforza. Stendhal adopts in his judgment of great men the new scientific method: he judges Napoleon by the Darwinian rule of descent. Look at the pictures of young Napoleon as an officer of artillery. If you could take off the French uniform, and replace it by sheep skins; cover the long hair, not with a high hat with gilt borders and the tricolor cockade, but with a shepherd's hat; instead of the boots with spurs imagine them curious sandals tied with creased leather strings, and you would have one of the young men who wander in the *maquis* (wooded haunts of the Corsican banditti), and who, in a moment of rage, think no more of another man's life than they do of their own. Send this young man into a country like the France of 1793, saturated with its own blood, deprived of all the ancient forms of law, at war with the whole world, and give him the greatest military genius, and you will have Napoleon. There is not much that is new to say on the infant days of Bonaparte in Corsica, on his family, on his mother, on the school of Brienne, on his debut at Toulon. The historians have nearly exhausted this subject; still they have not, perhaps, understood as well as Stendhal the originality of the young Corsican. Beyle was a precursor of Taine. Everybody knows Taine's great theories upon the influences on man of all the antecedent and of the surrounding circumstances, of what the philosophers call the *medium*; he represents every man as a natural product of this medium, and explains him by it. Literature as well as art is the natural fruit of a certain historical soil. This theory, which, like many other theories, is only a part of the truth, has been much attacked as destructive of the principle of human liberty. It is not suitable to enter here into a critical analysis of it. I will only remark that Stendhal was strongly imbued with it, though he never gave to it as dogmatic a form as Taine did in his 'History of English Literature.'

The true Corsican nature of Bonaparte was shown in some circumstances with a singular force. I would only cite the murder of the Due d'Enghien. All the circumstances of this horrible drama will probably only be perfectly well known when Talleyrand's Memoirs are published. But we may, even now, infer that Talleyrand's Memoirs do not tend to exonerate the memory of Bonaparte. The manuscript of the Memoirs is now in the hands of M. Andral, the present president of the Council of State. M. de Bacourt, Prince Talleyrand's executor, has not allowed M. Andral to publish the Memoirs, even although the term of thirty years marked as a minimum by Talleyrand has expired. The reason of this reticence is not accurately known; but it is said that Napoleon III., who was allowed to read in the manuscript some chapters of the Memoirs, and in particular the chapter on the murder at Vincennes, came to an understanding with the Talleyrand family: he gave the title of Duke of Montmorency to a member of this family (which was contrary to all the rules of our ancient monarchy, as there was no tie whatever between the Talleyrands and the last Duke of Montmorency, whom I knew, and who was an enemy of the Empire and an intimate friend of Queen Marie Amélie). This great favor conferred upon a descendant of Talleyrand perhaps inclined Talleyrand's family to suppress, as they have a right to do, the publication of the famous Memoirs.

I leave this long parenthesis and return to Stendhal and his work. The most original part of his book is the description of the republican armies which entered Italy and achieved those extraordinary campaigns that made the fame of Bonaparte. The old chivalrous spirit of France, which had been exiled from Paris and frightened away by the horrible deeds of the Terrorists, had found its only refuge in the army. The republican virtues which were a repulsive aspect in the Convention and in the

\* Vie de Napoléon. (Fragments.) Par de Stendhal (Henry Beyle). Paris: Calmann Lévy; New York: F. W. Christern.

sections of the capital, had found their true form in an army composed of real patriots—men strongly imbued with a great love of liberty, and candid friends of the liberties of all countries. The young “heaven-born” generals, men of the Mareau and Kléber type, were enthusiasts; they really believed in their holy mission, they wished to break the yoke under which Italy and Germany were groaning. They cared not for money, for gilded trappings, for the theatrical garments of glory; they wore ragged uniforms. When they arrived as deliverers in the great cities of Lombardy, they felt the pleasure of young Hercules after one of his great works. Stendhal is truly delightful when he describes their feelings; read, for instance, his admirable description of the plains of Lombardy: “The country people showed our young Frenchmen, charmed with the spectacle, the *Scie de Lecco*, and, further on towards the west, the great open space which forms a void in the mountains, and is occupied by the Lake of Garda. It was from this place that the Milanese, from the bastion of the Oriental door, heard with so much anxiety two months afterwards the cannon of Lenato and Castiglione. Their fate was then in question; they had not only to think of the destiny of those institutions which then were the object of their passionate hopes; every man could ask himself: In what prison shall I be thrown if the Austrians return to Milan? Their passion for the French was then extreme, and they pardoned us all our requisitions.”

The description of the Corso of Milan at that time has a freshness which reminds one of the happiest passages of the ‘Chartreuse de Parme.’ The young staff officers on horseback used to go around the carriages of the young ladies, which occupied not less than six parallel lines. The infantry officers, who could not penetrate this labyrinth, sat before the coffee-houses, and took ices with other ladies. Sometimes they had to walk five or six hours before they could return to their camps. Oftentimes a Milanese friend would lend them a *seddi-la*, a car with two wheels, drawn by a fast horse. Some officers rode for five hours in order to be present at a performance at the Scala. There was, however, the greatest discipline in the camps, and this curious mixture of pleasure and danger only helped to give a little more excitement to the troops. A French officer was always admitted to the boxes of the Scala. Whoever knows Milan and its society can imagine what encouragement young and still timid heroes drew from the blandishments of the most charming part of the Italian population. Stendhal insists upon the fact that there was no ambition among them; they were strongly imbued with the love of glory, with the love of France, but cared little for advancement. They reminded me, while I was reading Stendhal’s book, of some of the young officers from the North with whom I conversed during your great war at Washington or before Richmond.

Napoleon was not one of these disinterested heroes. Italy was the pedestal on which he built his fame; he played on the passions of his army with the virtuosity of a true Cesar. His campaigns in Italy read like a novel; his strategy was bold and astounding, but he really cared for nothing but his own reputation—he intended to become the master of France. He was a true *condottiere* of the Middle Ages, and knew that there are times in history when force is uppermost, ages of iron and blood. He had nothing but contempt for the Revolution and for its principles; he acted as calmly as the scientist who resorts to vivisection in order to learn the anatomy of the human body. Individuals and even nations were to him like common tissues through which the sword of the man of genius can cut without mercy. This *fatal*, this terrific character of Napoleon was well understood by Stendhal, and he describes it all the better that he admires it and looks upon it with the spirit of a true Mussulman or of a savage. ‘Bonaparte’ is not a book, it is only a sketch; but the sketches of a man like Stendhal are more interesting than many books; and this new volume must of necessity take its place near the ‘Chartreuse de Parme,’ ‘Le Rouge et le Noir,’ and the ‘History of Painting in Italy.’

## Correspondence.

### THE FREE LIST IN THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

To the Editor of The Nation:

SIR: It seems to me that Mr. Dana has called attention to the most fruitful source of mischief in our political system—that of the choice of electors by general ticket; but that the remedy he proposes would be inadequate. To choose the electors by districts—supposing the electoral system to be retained—would be an immense improvement upon the present system; but, after all, it would result in the same gross inequalities which we see in members of Congress—when, for instance, Maine sent none but Re-

publicans, and Maryland none but Democrats, to the last House of Representatives. This would be remedied entirely by some method of proportional representation which should give to each party a number of electors precisely corresponding to its numerical strength. The best form of proportional representation for this purpose would be the so-called “Free List”; each party presents a list of names which is voted *as a whole*; it is then ascertained what proportion of the whole vote is cast for each list, and a proportional number of names at the head of each list are declared elected. The so-called “Senatorial” electors should, of course, be elected by the legislature or by a majority vote.

As long as the electors are mere machinery, this plan would at all events bring about a perfectly just result; it would be still more salutary if, as your correspondent H. W. H. suggests, the Electoral College were converted into a genuine college. At any rate, it would be desirable that the amendment of the Constitution which would be necessary should not undertake to prescribe any particular method of choosing electors, but simply provide that they should be elected in the same manner as members of Congress; the details could then be determined by legislation. MARCEL.

## Notes.

WE are glad to learn that the publicity given to the fact of an extensive spoliation of the historical records of this State has led to a partial restitution from a single (anonymous) source. Some sixty documents made up the parcel, and led to the unpleasant discovery that more had been taken away than had been advertised, and that in many cases “the absence of a document, or part of one, could only be ascertained by its return.” We hope, however, that this is only the beginning of restitution.—A posthumous work on ‘Dyspepsia,’ by the late Dr. W. W. Hall, is announced by R. Worthington.—The process of absorbing the other American music-publishing houses by Oliver Ditson & Co. has led to the recent purchase of the catalogues of J. L. Peters, Wm. Hall & Son, and Geo. D. Russell & Co.—The Illinois Free-Trade League promises to call a national convention for the formation of a national league in the course of the present year.—Goldammer’s ‘Kindergarten Gifts and Occupations’ has been made a little more accessible to English-speaking people by M. Louis Fournier’s authorized translation of it into French (Berlin: Carl Habel; New York: E. Steiger). It is illustrated, like the original, with sixty plates.—A French version of Turgenev’s new novel, ‘Terres Vierges,’ has been appearing for some months in the *Tempo*; two German translations have been published, at Berlin and Vienna; and Mr. Eugene Schuyler is said to be at work on an English one, to be called, perhaps, ‘The Rising Generation.’—Any one interested in the bibliography of proverbs will find a useful list of works in the March number of the Paris *Polybiblion*.—The death of Prof. John S. Hart, of Philadelphia, for many years prominent as a teacher, editor, and author of numerous text-books, has been followed by that of Mr. Thomas Balch, of the same city, author of an unfinished work, written in the French language, on ‘Les Français en Amérique pendant la Guerre de l’Indépendance des Etats-Unis.’ The first volume has already appeared, and Mr. Balch had been diligently collecting materials for the second, which promised to be of great interest.

—A circular from the Surgeon-General’s Office, Washington, addressed to the medical officers of the Army, calls attention to a work of great magnitude for which their co-operation is asked. A ‘History of North American Mammals,’ to be published by the Government, has been undertaken by Assistant-Surgeon Elliott Coues, U.S.A., who, while his special province as a naturalist has been ornithology, has long been gathering materials for the present work. Twenty years have elapsed since the last general work upon the quadrupeds of this country appeared, and meantime enormous progress has been made not only in our positive knowledge but in modes of study and manner of classification; for the period in question exactly embraces the rise of the Darwinian theory of evolution. Dr. Coues’s scheme includes (1) the classification of North American mammals; (2) the most approved nomenclature; (3) elaborate technical description of each species and variety; (4) the geographical distribution of the species; (5) their “life histories,” or a full account of their habits. It is under the last two headings that Dr. Coues especially invites the co-operation of his brother officers, the facts about the geographical distribution requiring the most widespread testimony that can be obtained. As regards the habits of the smaller species, “the bats offer a peculiarly inviting and little-explored field of research.” The Navy has lately been regularly attached to the service of science by the new order providing for the taking of meteorological obser-

vations while at sea, and the country will gladly see the Army put to all the scientific use of which it is capable. Dr. Cope's well illustrates in his own person the honorable extent of this capacity.

—A correspondent writes us from Montana :

"A year or two ago you stated that we were to have an American geographical magazine. Has this plan been abandoned? We have surely a sufficient number of people interested in geographical science to make such an enterprise a success, and we need a home periodical to give more prominence to American matters than is done by the European periodicals. It is only at rare intervals that one finds in these any reference to American work, while the Wheeler expeditions, the U. S. G. and G. Survey, and the different military expeditions are constantly adding to our knowledge of the geography of the United States. There is not to day a single map of the States and Territories west of the 100th meridian even tolerably correct. If we had a geographical magazine to map and make accessible the new discoveries made every year in different parts of the Far West, it might make our maps a little better than they are at present. A great deal of valuable information and a great many sketch-maps could no doubt be furnished by private parties, and, although maps based on these might not be absolutely correct, they would be a great improvement on those now available, and if we wait for the Engineers to complete their atlas of the West (very excellent as far as published), I am afraid our grandchildren will hardly have a good map of the Rocky Mountains."

We do not remember having announced an American geographical magazine, but we learn that one was talked of some time since by persons then connected officially with the American Geographical Society. The enterprise, however, would have been purely a private one, as the Society lacks the means to carry on a journal. The financial crisis prevented the proposed plan from being executed. Although, from a scientific and educational point of view, an American geographical magazine is certainly desirable, we fear that just now a new periodical would not have the necessary pecuniary support. At the proper time, too, it must be undertaken by a publisher who can command sufficient capital to place it prominently before the public and to secure the services of an editor possessing literary talent and such scientific and practical knowledge of American geography that the magazine will have authoritative weight. No department of American literature needs the influence of discriminating criticism more than geographical publications, whether from the Government offices or from private sources. The maps produced are of all grades of value, both as to material and method of expression. The good and bad stand on an equal footing to-day before the public, and much of the force of the information conveyed is lost by hopelessly bad engraving and press-work. Our cartography can never be brought up to even a fair standard of accuracy or excellence until it is subjected to competent criticism, such as it would be the object of the proposed magazine to furnish. A secondary, but by no means unimportant, question is whether the magazine should be conducted and printed in Washington or in New York.

—The past month has been noticeable for the decease of a number of undoubted centenarians in this country; but the history of no one of them has so vividly recalled the connection between the past century and the present as that of the late Guy Carleton Haynes, the oldest resident in East Boston, Mass., who died March 16, at the age of ninety-one. He was the youngest of twenty-three children of Joseph Haynes of Haverhill, Mass., and was born February 5, 1786. His oldest sister, Mrs. Hannah Redington, was born March 27, 1735; consequently, she was upwards of fifty years his senior. She had grandchildren older than he. Three of Mr. Haynes' brothers, David, Ammi R., and Joseph, born respectively in 1738, 1740, and 1743, served in the French War in Canada in 1757, two years before the capture of Quebec by General Wolfe!

—The troupe which has been going about the country giving representations of Wagner's operas is chiefly remarkable for its orchestra, which, with the exception of Thomas's, is the best that we have ever heard. The credit of this is greatly due to the enthusiasm and energy of the conductor, Mr. A. Neudorff, who unites to a sincere musical zeal the physical activity and endurance which the peculiar character of Wagner's scores renders so indispensable. We have never seen these qualities exhibited in equal force before in this or any other field of human activity, except, perhaps, once or twice in the demeaner of "leading filibusters" in the House of Representatives. As to the opera itself, the singing has been for the most part only fair (some of the most important features of it had to be omitted, apparently from lack of sufficient musical strength), and chiefly noticeable for the very creditable way in which Mme. Pappenheim acquitted herself, both musically and dramatically. Her voice has great volume, as those will remember who have heard her at Gilmore's Garden during the summer, and is better fitted for the strain put upon it by most of the music she has been singing than is ordinarily the case in troupes of this kind. Her acting would win her applause on any stage. As to the manner in which the operas have been put on the stage not much can be said. In fact, they have not been put on the

stage at all. In the libretto of "Tannhäuser," for instance, are the following stage directions for the first scene of the first act, which in Germany are followed, we believe, implicitly:

"The interior of the Venusberg near Eisenach. A large cave, which extends to the right immeasurably. In the distance is visible a blue sea, in which are seen the bathing forms of *Naiades*; reclining on the heights above the coast are sirens. In the front lies *Venus*, *Tannhäuser* kneeling before her, his head in her lap. A rosy light fills the interior of the cave. In the centre of the stage nymphs are dancing, and on the high projections of the cave are reclining lovers, of whom some occasionally join the dance of the nymphs. A procession of bacchanalians rushes forward from behind, dancing wildly; they walk with a drunken air through the groups of nymphs and lovers, who soon join the bacchanalian dance. To the dance, which grows wilder and wilder, answers, like an echo from the sea, the song of the sirens. The dancers suddenly stop and listen to the song, but soon commence again, and reach the highest point of fury. At the moment of the most frenzied bacchanalian passion, a general relaxation suddenly takes place. The dancing pairs leave the dance and lie down on the projections of the cave. The procession of bacchanalians disappears in the background, where a dense perfume spreads, which by degrees reaches the front and covers the sleepers in rosy clouds, until at last a small part only of the stage is free from it, where *Venus* and *Tannhäuser* remain alone in their position as before. Far away, the song of the sirens dies away."

Now, whatever may be thought of the morality of such representations as these, there is no doubt that the promise of them raises the hopes of the average opera-goer, and when the curtain rises and he finds that there is no immeasurable cave, no "bathing forms," no rosy light, no procession of bacchanalians, no groups of nymphs and lovers, no dancing, no "general relaxation," and no dense perfume, and, in fact, nothing at all but bare stage, with an extremely respectable stout German *Venus*, dressed in a costume which suggests a modest ballet-dancer, with a small knight, kneeling, as the libretto has taught him, in a most uncomfortable position, with his head in her lap, he is, to say the least, disappointed. One of the great differences between this new kind of opera and those that have preceded it is the minute attention paid to the stage accessories—the "mounting," as it is called. Startling stage effects, the last touch of realism, sensations of all sorts are relied upon by Wagner just as much as they are by the authors of such works as the "Femme de Feu," and to leave them out is really to prevent the audience from getting an adequate idea of his operas as complete works. The orchestral music, on the other hand, could not have been improved, and the very good audiences that have been got together lead us to hope that next year we may have the opportunity of hearing and seeing the "whole thing."

—The fifty-second exhibition of the Academy of Design was opened to the public on Tuesday, and it is gratifying to have to say that it is by far the best display of American paintings ever seen in one collection. It is, in fact, what should have been the exhibit made by our national art at the Centennial. It is much better than our show was at that anniversary, and looks as if it were the gathering together of all the ambitious works intended for a grand national celebration, which, with the dilatory engagement-keeping of artists, were contributed a year or so too late. Its most striking aspect is the bold front assumed by art-students working in Europe, who sign nearly all the best pieces, and the consequent collapse of what we used complacently to call the American school. The latter assumes a wall-flower place, and its qualities are seen to be especially a modest absence of quality. The work of the European pupils is bold, youthful, and confident, with that peculiar loudness in enunciating their masters' principles, as if they were their own characteristic of a certain time of life and a certain stage of development. When this strength in asserting another's theories is exchanged for strength in forming personal theories, we shall have an "American School" again, and not before. Just at present, the rooms on Twenty-third street are amusingly like a seminary that has advertised for professors, and on whose neutral ground the learned teachers of Munich and Paris are allowed to manoeuvre their show pupils in their shrillest, showiest exercises. What will surprise many people who acknowledge a general obligation to French culture is the vivid effect the Bavarian pupils are able to make. Mr. Shirlaw's "Sheep-shearing" (379) is certainly the star picture of the exhibition, and several other Munich works, including a Bonington-like sketch by the *magister* himself, Piloty, and Dielman's "Patrician Lady" (245), which we can hardly err in ascribing to Munich influence, make a strong assertion in favor of the school. In opposition to these, certain French works with less legerdemain and greater science speak earnestly for the solid excellence of Paris education. E. M. Ward's "Brittany Washing-place" (387) and "Sabot maker" (192), Knight's "Harvest Scene" (450), and Sartain's "Italian Boy" (166) are works of thorough study and reserved power, while certain large decorations from the same school, betraying a familiar tendency to parquetry, nudity, and large Eastern greyhounds show the sprawling energy of youthfulness and sensation-

alism. Of contributions more domestic, Eastman Johnson's "Tramp" (491), R. Swain Gifford's "Cedars of New England" (446), Page's "Portrait" (437), Homer's "Answering the Horn" (311) and "Landscape" (405), and Mr. Richards's "Gull Rock" (343) are variously admirable without evident marks of foreign hammers and anvils. The catalogue this year is illustrated with over a hundred little cartouches, containing sketches of pictures on view, mostly the artists' autotypes, and of a quality to throw quite in the shade Mr. Blackburn's dissolute-looking pictures to the same purpose. These catalogues are sold, at some loss, for the old price, and if widely scattered over the country would doubtless help the Exhibition largely as a national art-exchange.

—A complete exposure of the system of local taxation prevailing in Massachusetts has been lately made by Mr. William Minot, Jr., of Boston, in a pamphlet which has attracted a great deal of attention in that State. He gives the results which actual experience shows to have followed the attempt to tax everything within the assessor's reach, and his facts and arguments are of very wide application, as the Massachusetts system prevails generally through the United States. He states first that the constitutional provisions on the subject are extremely simple, giving only power to levy "proportionable and reasonable" taxes upon "all the inhabitants of and persons resident in and estates lying within" the State; that under this simple authority the State has passed laws providing, first, for a poll tax; second, a tax on all property, real and personal, including in the term personal any tangible property within or without the State, vessels at home or abroad, and stocks and other securities within or without the State; an income-tax, and a tax on property in the hands of fiduciaries to be levied on the fiduciary, whether the beneficiary lives in or out of the State. These provisions are reinforced by others, making taxpayers who evade taxation by any means liable to a fine of twice their last tax, or, if they have never paid any tax, to a fine of \$100 to \$5,000; and making any shareholder who, with the intention of avoiding the payment of taxes, fraudulently transfers stock, etc., liable to the forfeiture of one-half his stock. Lists of taxable property are required from the taxpayer under oath, and if he does not furnish them he is "doomed" at any figure the assessors choose, and then if overtaxed can only recover half the excess. Assessors are bound to value everything at its full value, and there is a fine of \$1,000 on any taxpayer or assessor for agreeing upon a low valuation as an inducement to change of residence.

—Such is the system. To show how it works, Mr. Minot gives some examples which are strikingly like, only more monstrous than, those published by Tax-Commissioner Andrews some time ago to illustrate the working of the system of local taxation in New York State. A., living in Massachusetts, owns \$100,000 of land in Illinois, and is not taxed because the real estate is outside the State; but B. owns \$100,000 worth of stock in a land company in Chicago, and is taxed because the property consists of shares in a corporation. C., owner of an undivided interest in a bridge in Illinois, is exempt, while D., owning shares in a Missouri bridge company, is taxed. E., deriving an income from property already taxed in Massachusetts, is exempt; F., deriving the same income from property already taxed in New Hampshire, is taxed twice. G., having a salary of \$7,000, is taxed on \$5,000 (\$2,000 being exempted), while H., having an income of \$7,000 on a capital from \$100,000, is taxed on \$100,000. I. lends \$10,000, and takes a mortgage for security; the mortgagor pays a full tax on the mortgage, while the mortgagor pays a full tax on the land; J., on the other hand, lends \$10,000, and for security takes a deed, agreeing to reconvey when the money is paid; the land only is taxed. The means of evasion are practically infinite, and the result is exactly the same as in New York—that the larger portion of personal property escapes taxation altogether, while the remainder is doubly taxed. In the country, where there is no large body of non-taxpaying voters, the assessors still (as they once universally did) represent the interests of property, and, there being no demand for public expenditures, the taxes are light. In the large cities, however, where the non-taxpayers control the property of the taxpayer (in Boston seventy-eight per cent. of the voters in 1874 were non-property-holders), and where there is a constant need of money for public works and improvements, the popularity of the assessor depends on his squeezing the property-holder to the last drop, and hence he is under a continual temptation to justify the extravagance of the class he represents by increasing the valuation of property and thus creating a fictitious basis for increased taxation.

—To complete the picture of the communistic tyranny under which the "solid man" of Boston lives, it should be said that for over-valuation of his real estate there is no redress in the courts; and that this is no im-

nary grievance is shown by the fact that it is by no means uncommon for trustees in Boston who are lending money on mortgage, to deduct (for the purpose of arriving at the real value of property) about a third from the assessors' valuation. In common with all the reformers and writers of authority who have discussed the subject during the last ten years, Mr. Minot insists that there is no hope of any improvement until the attempt to tax personal property in this Asiatic way is given up and all taxation is concentrated on one or two classes of property, visible, tangible, not easily concealed or removed—*i.e.*, real estate and corporate property—and is then allowed to distribute itself. This reform has a good many obstacles to encounter, as may be inferred from the fact that, though great dissatisfaction has existed for a long time in Massachusetts with the working of the present system, the only remedy suggested by one of the most experienced officials in Boston, when applied to for his views on the subject, was that the taxpayers' servants might be made use of as informers under a penalty of \$50, and that the penalty for not making returns should be increased from one-half the excess to the whole. Worse than this, the subject was referred to a special commission by the Massachusetts Legislature (one of them being a man of as high standing and reputation as Professor Seelye, of Amherst), and they reported that the citizen of Massachusetts had "no inalienable right except that to his own righteousness."

—Mr. Richard Grant White has an article in the last number of the *Gazette* on "English Traits," in which he combats some prejudices once widely prevalent, but now probably dying out. Among others, the notion that the race has degenerated in this country, and that we have become weaker, more puny, less symmetrically formed than the stock from which we sprung is, Mr. White thinks, "essentially absurd." There is no doubt that the statistics of the Rebellion showed that the fighting material of this country was as good as that of any in the world; and yet that there was a difference a generation ago between the type distinctively known as "American" and the type known as "English" is, we think, undeniable, while that the advantage appeared to lie with us would hardly then have been maintained by any one. Mr. White maintains that it is inconsistent with all admitted facts "that a race of men should materially change its physical traits in the course of two centuries, under whatever conditions of climate or other external influence," and adds that "the very pyramids protest against it by their pictured records." That the difference of climate is not of much importance in the matter may well be conceded, as judging by the portraits of Americans of the last century, when the country was still dependent on England for its habits and fashions, the type was still English; and besides this, in Upper Canada, where the climate is certainly American, the type remains English to this day. But after the separation of the two countries was effected, a change of manners and habits set in which we should say, *a priori*, would be sure to lead to physical degeneration. Down to this period the country had been governed in a semi-aristocratic way. Families with large estates, worked by slaves, played a great part before the public eye, and formed a class having a good deal of leisure and opportunity for amusement, open-air sports, and devotion to their own physical well-being. Their régime came to an end not long after the Revolution, and was succeeded by one in which the whole community plunged with one accord into the pursuit of wealth. Amusements, out-of-door sports, all the means which centuries of experience had proved to be the best means of keeping up the standard, were thrown aside as so many hindrances to money-making, and the continual rise in the scale of living made the old primitive, leisurely, healthy colonial life out of the question. *A priori* this state of things ought to have gone on, and *a posteriori* it did go on until the new democracy had accumulated a sufficient stock of capital to make it again a question, not how life might be used so as to get the utmost amount of money in a given amount of time, but how the accumulated money might be used most rationally for the purpose of making life healthy and pleasant. The consideration of this question led to the conclusion that we had been living irrationally, that we had neglected our bodies for the sake of our pockets, and that we must reform. Can the athletic revival of the last twenty years, to which so much is owing, be explained except on the theory that there had been a physical deterioration in the race on this side of the Atlantic? Whether there had not been one also on the other side is a different question, into which it might perhaps be worth while to look. But we cannot believe until statistics force it upon us that Americans of the last generation were as healthy and strong as the generation now on the stage and coming on, nor that there was not a distinct physical decline between the colonial and the railroad and steamboat periods.

—*Nature* for March 8 gives a steel portrait of Hermann L. F. Helmholtz,

one of the greatest scientists of this or any age. From the biographical sketch accompanying it appears that "his mother, Caroline Penn, was of an emigrated English family." Among the contributions to this number is one, on the patenas or grass-lands of the mountain region of Ceylon, which corroborates Prof. J. D. Whitney's view of the cause of our Western prairies—viz., the finely comminuted silicious soil produced by the disintegration of the surface rocks. The writer says that the traveller in the central province of Ceylon finds "tracts of grass-land varying from a few perches to hundreds, and sometimes thousands, of acres in extent, in the midst of otherwise interminable jungle." This land, unlike our prairie land, is exceedingly poor; it is worthless to the coffee-planter, and "incapable of supporting any vegetation except its own acid manna grass." Sir Emerson Tennant, like some of our Western theorists, supposed these treeless tracts to be owing to forest fires purposely set in times past by the natives for the sake of clearing the ground for pasture; but the jungle cleared in this way produces a different grass, and in time relapses into jungle again. The writer's observations lead him to connect the phenomenon with a band of half-formed quartzite several hundreds of feet in thickness, which occurs in the much dislocated gneiss of the island. Below this line—"i.e., where its débris accumulated, nothing but patena was to be found, whilst above, where the ordinary gneiss rocks were in a state of disintegration, the jungle and coffee were of a most luxuriant character." The quartzite disintegrates "into little else than a quartz sand impregnated with iron, and entirely incapable of supporting the usual forest vegetation."

—A fact of some domestic importance, not generally known, is stated in Mohn's 'Principles of Meteorology' ('Grundzüge der Meteorologie'). It is that the bulbs of thermometers undergo a gradual diminution in bulk, the result of which is that the column of quicksilver is crowded up within the tube to a higher point than it ought to reach consistently with telling the truth about the temperature. Hence some deduction must be made in reading a thermometer which has stood for several years without having its accuracy tested by plunging its bulb into melting snow. If, when thus tested with proper precautions, the top of the column should stand at 35°, we infer that 3° must be subtracted from all its readings, because the true temperature of melting snow is 32° F. Mohn suggests no explanation of this contraction; but an obvious explanation occurs to us, analogous to the reason why a similarly vitreous material, ice, moves down a mountain-side without being fluid. The principle underlying both phenomena is this: Alternate contraction and exhaustion (by heat and cold) *in the presence of a third force acting steadily in one direction* causes a change of form resulting from this third force. In the case of the glacier this third steady force is *gravitation*, and the change is *descent*; in the case of the thermometer, the steady force is the outside *pressure of the atmosphere versus a partial vacuum within*, and the change is *shrinkage*.

—The reign of Frederick III. is the period of the most complete disintegration of Germany. The imperial power had sunk to its lowest estate, and this selfish and mean-spirited emperor could do nothing to elevate it. And yet the need of reform was urgently felt by the great princes in whom now resided the real power of Germany. The fifteenth century is filled with projects of reform, one of the most important of which is described by Dr. Paul Schweizer of Zurich in 'Vorgeschichte und Gründung des Schwäbischen Bundes' (1488). The Swabian cities were, next to the Hanse towns of the north, the most thriving and important cities of Germany; they had for a long time been united in a confederacy, loose and changing, which now served as a starting-point for the new reform. Apart from the ecclesiastical electors, who, not holding by hereditary title, had no definite and permanent policy; apart also from the house of Austria, which was at this time divided into two branches, and had at its head the worthless emperor, the great powers in Germany were the house of Hohenzollern (under Albert Achilles) and that of Wittelsbach, in its two lines of Bavaria and the Palatinate. These two houses were at swords' points, and each desired to attach the cities and lower states of Swabia to its side. Long years of negotiation and intrigue ended at last in the Confederacy of 1488, which embraced all the estates of Swabia, even the Austrian possessions. It was really a compromise; and the important point actually secured by it was that now, for the first time, the right of cities to have their members sit as co-ordinate members of the Diet was fully recognized.

—A society "for the promotion of charitable objects" has been formed in Tokio by eight Japanese gentlemen belonging to the highest circles of the empire, who, having formed the nucleus of the association and undertaken the duties of its management month about, have made an appeal to the benevolent of all classes in their own country, without distinction of rank

or position, to join and help them. Their general aim will be to collect funds for charitable purposes, their especial one to train and educate deformed persons; and the first objects of their solicitude are the blind, of whom there are great numbers in Japan, for whom an asylum will be provided and who will be taught some handicraft. The manifesto of the society is a masterpiece of composition when compared with the dreary literature of charitable institutions generally. Thus, we are tersely informed that "Western philosophers say that 'a man's nature is written in his account-book,' and verily it is so." An appeal could hardly be more telling if it were extended over ten pages. And the following paragraph contains a moral which might well be applied in countries more favored than the small island of the remote East where it was penned: "Did even those, not a few though they be, who, steeped in indolence and lust, wasting their money in idle pursuits, lulled into an evil dream by the beauty of women, or devoted to quarrelling and injustice, know nothing of the priceless treasures begotten by work and well-doing—did even these turn their eyes honestly inward and reflect, they would see that the bestowal of one old coat on a beggar gives a finer satisfaction of well-doing to the donor, as well as a thousand times more joy to the recipient, than the lavishing of a hundred *riyos* (dollars) on a dancing girl." These words have an earnest ring about them which almost makes one fancy, in reading them, that one hears Confucius himself.

#### ACROSS AFRICA.\*

LIKE most narratives of African travel, Captain Cameron's two volumes are the record of a really heroic achievement. When he arrived at Katombela on the west coast, upwards of two years after having left Zanzibar, he was greeted by a French resident who had come out to meet him, having a hamper of provisions, and who "instantly opened a bottle to drink to the honor of the first European who had ever succeeded in crossing tropical Africa from east to west." This was a slender symbol of the recognition which Captain Cameron's fortitude and perseverance may properly claim. In the map which accompanies his book, his path, with all its weary sinuosities, is traced in a red line across the huge continent, and when we reflect that it was followed for the greater part on foot (for the donkeys with which the expedition started succumbed to fatigue and inanition at a comparatively early stage of the journey), we cannot but take a higher view of the possible "grit" of human nature. Captain Cameron went to Africa in the autumn of 1872, under the auspices of the English Geographical Society, to organize an expedition which should place itself in communication with Dr. Livingstone and under his command, for the further prosecution of his researches. Captain Cameron, as commander in the navy, had had some observation of the iniquities of the African slave-trade, and he was eager to do something, indirectly, at least, which should lead to its being trampled out. It must be said that in this respect the benefits of his journey will have been very indirect, as he had not the good fortune, like Sir Samuel Baker, to be backed by a khedive and accompanied by a small army. He saw much of the horrors of slave capture, but he saw them in perfect helplessness, and was obliged even to associate and travel in company with the slave-traders. This must have been not the least of the hardships of a journey fertile in miseries. Captain Cameron started from the east coast with two companions, Messrs. Dillon and Murphy, and a large body—apparently, at the outset, some hundred and fifty in number—of native servants, porters, and armed men. He was overtaken a few weeks after his start by Mr. Moffat, a young nephew of Dr. Livingstone (all of whose family seem to have shared his exploring zeal), who was full of eagerness to join the expedition, but who died of fever shortly after doing so.

Captain Cameron's narrative, made up from his journals, is a plain, unvarnished, and extremely detailed account of everything that befell him and his party during his march of twenty months. The number of details and of small incidents mentioned in his pages is perhaps almost wearying to the reader, who marvels at the author's clear recollection of things which succeeded each other during weeks and months of monotonous obstruction and exhaustion; a wonder not lessened by the reflection that the author, in writing his book, has had his notes to depend upon. Note-taking must often have been for Captain Cameron a decidedly difficult process. Readers scantly versed in the mysteries of African geography (which latterly, indeed, have been elucidated to a degree very surprising to the ordinary reader) receive an impression that African exploration is, at the time, the most thankless even of those pursuits of which it is admitted that their reward is in the treasure which the virtuous man lays up for himself. To

\* 'Across Africa.' By Verney Lovett Cameron, C.B., D.C.L. London: Dalziel, Isbister & Co.; New York: Harper & Bros.

some of these pursuits a certain amount of incidental sport is attached : there is a grain of compensation to a pound of hardship. But unless one has converted one's mind into a large Geographical Society's map of the "black continent," so that one can regard each new squalid village that one arrives at from the point of view of an enthusiastic filler-in of the blank spaces on the chart, it is hard to see what is the immediate entertainment of a period of African wandering. The people, apparently, are detestable—filthy, stingy, mercenary, false, cruel, and devoted to making every step of advance impossible to you ; the climate is in the highest degree baleful, and the "sport," in Captain Cameron's pages, makes no great figure—though this may be because he was not a professed Nimrod, or was, most of the time, too weary to chase his game. He speaks of the scenery as being often of very great beauty, but the nature of African travel is hardly such as to put one into a mood for enjoying the charms of landscape. The charms of a good beefsteak are generally more striking. On reaching Ugozi—"when we arrived within the limits of cultivation our men, unable any longer to withstand the pangs of thirst, commenced gathering water-melons of a very inferior and bitter sort ; but some sharp-eyed Wagogo detected them and demanded about twenty times the value of what had been picked, and upon camping at noon our beasts were not allowed to be watered until we had obtained leave by payment." That is a specimen of the perpetual friction which the African traveller apparently has to undergo ; and it must be added that it is a very mild specimen. Captain Cameron's hired blacks were perpetually deserting and leaving him in the lurch, stealing, getting into trouble, and multiplying infinitely his difficulties. Add to this constant attacks of fever, lame and lacerated feet, scantiness of food, and difficulty, sometimes amounting to impossibility, of procuring it, with exposure to scorching suns and drenching rains, and the thousand miseries of camping for upwards of two years among savages of great personal foulness, and it will be conceived that to sustain the weary wanderer, the "geographical" passion must be strong within his breast.

Of direct hostility from the natives Captain Cameron, considering that he had not a very strong party, appears to have met very much less than might have been supposed. Only once or twice was he shot at with arrows, and this scrimmage speedily subsided. Wild beasts also play a very slender part in his narrative. He sees a leopard tumble out of a tree with a monkey in his clutches, and, so long as he kept his donkeys, the hyenas were prone to get at them at night and tear them to pieces ; but Captain Cameron seems to have had, in this line, few adventures of the classic sort. During a long halt at Unyanyembe, about half way between the east coast and the great lake Tanganyika, he received news of the death of Doctor Livingstone, and on this one of his two companions, deeming that the *raison d'être* of the enterprise had failed, determined to retrace his steps. They had all been extremely ill and delirious with fever, and when the scroll reached them upon which Jacob Wainwright, Livingstone's sometime companion, had inscribed the statement of his death—Wainwright knew of an expedition having left Zanzibar and supposed it to be in command of the younger Livingstone—they were barely able to understand it. Cameron resumed his forward march with Doctor Dillon, but the latter was speedily compelled, by the state of his health, to turn back, and he died in the African wilderness a few days after parting with the author, of whom he was an old and intimate comrade.

It is out of our power to give any detailed account of the rest—that is, the greater part of Captain Cameron's narrative. His difficulties constantly increased from the fact that his medium of exchange—certain bales of cloth, which he dealt out yard by yard, in payment for food, lodging, wages of men, and such assistance as was rendered him—very rapidly diminished. He had been unable to bring enough cloth with him to last a journey of twenty months, and he arrived at his goal in a state of almost absolute starvation. In February, 1874, a year after his start, and "fifteen years and five days from the time Burton discovered it," Captain Cameron's eyes rested on "vast Tanganyika." Here, at Kawele, near Ujiji, he got possession of Dr. Livingstone's papers, which were in the keeping of a worthy Arab who had been living as a trader in this part of Africa ever since 1842. The number of traders—Arab, negro, Portuguese (under this denomination a great many base half-castes appear to cluster) encountered by Captain Cameron is very striking, and gives one a sense of tropical Africa being able to boast of a going to and fro of "bagmen" hardly inferior to that which may be observed in the most advanced Christian countries. The author obtained boats at Ujiji and devoted about two months to making the tour of Lake Tanganyika ; and then, resuming his journey on the further side of it, he joined a large caravan of traders for the purpose of passing through the formidable Manyema country in their company—the people of Manyema being cannibals and abominable wretches,

generally. "Not only do they eat the bodies of enemies killed in battle, but also of people who die of disease. They prepare the corpses by leaving them in running water until they are nearly putrid, and then devour them without any further cooking. They also eat all sorts of carrion, and their odor is very foul and revolting." Captain Cameron spent upwards of a month at Nyangwe, on the "mighty Lualaba," which he believes to be one of the headwaters of the Congo : "for where else could that giant among rivers, second only to the Amazon in its volume, obtain the two million cubic feet of water which it unceasingly pours each second into the Atlantic?"

Captain Cameron waited many weeks—from October to January—at the capital of a potentate called Kasongo, a monster of cruelty, who was abroad extending his conquests, and whom the author did not feel at liberty to pass by without an interview. So he lingered, week after week, expecting Kasongo's return ; finding some society, however, in an Arab trader settled in what, in a Christian country, would be called the neighborhood. Kasongo at last returned, bragged horribly of his achievements, and proclaimed himself a god—a light in which he is apparently regarded by his subjects, who allow him to cut off their hands, ears, and noses for his amusement. His massacres and mutilations are incredible. Cruelty is in the manners of Urua, Kasongo's country. Witness this account of the usual burial of a chief, which is worth quoting :

"Their first proceeding is to divert the course of a stream, and in its bed to dig an enormous pit, the bottom of which is then covered with living women. At one end a woman is placed on her hands and knees, and upon her back the dead chief, covered with his beads and other treasures, is seated, being supported on either side by one of his wives, while his second wife sits at his feet. The earth is then shovelled in on them, and all the women are buried alive, with the exception of the second wife. To her custom is more merciful than to her companions, and grants her the privilege of being killed before the huge grave is filled in. This being completed, a number of male slaves—sometimes forty or fifty—are slaughtered, and the blood poured over the grave, after which the river is allowed to resume its course."

The account of the last weeks of Captain Cameron's march is of extreme, and indeed of exciting, interest. He had thrown away everything but his instruments and papers, to lighten himself and his men ; he was in rags, and he had nothing to buy food with. His men, within a hundred and fifty miles of their journey's end, collapsed and broke down utterly ; whereupon he picked out a few of the best, whom he persuaded to follow him, and, promising to send back provisions to the rest, he pulled his belt tighter to stop his hunger, and pushed forward over the mountainous country which borders the western coast. He arrived at Benguela, the Portuguese port of trade, devoured with scurvy, and only just in time to save his life. His last chapter is devoted to geographical considerations ; to an account of the natural wealth of tropical Africa, out of which he believes that "enterprise" may make fortunes ; and to an appeal to this same enterprise to bestir itself on behalf of the suppression of the slave-trade, to which he calculates that half a million of lives are annually sacrificed—a state of things which is rapidly depopulating the country. We earnestly hope that his appeal may weigh in the balance. Captain Cameron tells his remarkable story with no great literary art, but with a simple manliness and veracity which secure the sympathy and admiration of the reader.

#### POPULAR PROGRESS IN ENGLAND.\*

If one were asked to designate in history the place and time of the greatest advance in the political welfare of mankind, there need be little hesitation in pointing to the first half of the present century in Great Britain. The exodus of the Pilgrim Fathers and our War of Independence were striking events as providing a home for and establishing the existence of a new and mighty nation. The French Revolution swept away an old world, but did little towards providing the framework of a new. The consolidation of the German Empire betokens a new era, but it remains to be seen whether the victories of peace are in this case to be equal to those of war. The process, however, by which, among a population crowding closely on the means of subsistence, the rights and liberties of the oppressed masses were asserted and established against a feudal and landed aristocracy holding apparently unlimited power and disposed to use it to any extent in repression ; by which these first steps were followed up with a sweeping series of reforms which changed not merely the centre of power but the whole constitution of society, and by which these great results were achieved through constitutional methods and without violent revolution or extensive bloodshed—such a process can be compared only for importance with occurrences like the invention of printing. The song of triumph has taken the form

\* "Chapters in the History of Popular Progress chiefly in relation to the Freedom of the Press and Trial by Jury, 1760-1820, with an application to later years. By James Routledge." London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1876.

of histories, biographies, and works of constitutional analysis. We remember reading with great interest Miss Martineau's "History of England during the Peace." More recently the Rev. W. N. Molesworth has published a history of the time since 1830, and now Mr. Routledge takes up the thrice-told but never wearying tale; not so much, however, with reference to the later and more general principles of reform as to the fierce struggles which took place after the peace of 1815 upon what Erskine May calls the "liberty of the subject." In so warm an advocate of human rights it is hardly possible that there should not be something of the partisan, and some of the political portraits should perhaps be taken with allowance, but a thoroughly impartial writer is only too apt to be thoroughly dull, and there is in this case such an evident intention of fairness that the caution needs only to be slightly insisted on.

Like Macaulay, Mr. Routledge regards modern English history as commencing with the Revolution of 1688, and recounts briefly such measures as the Uniformity, Conventicle, Corporation, and Test Acts, which, being reactionary at the time, were destined to cast their baneful shadow forward for a century and a half. It is curious to note how the "mad struggle of James II. with Protestantism," which drove the church back from the crown to the nation and was met by a change in the succession, was exactly contemporary with the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which sent fifty thousand skilled workmen from France into England, and formed the first step towards the great Revolution. The eighteenth century is passed in general review, the whole book being, in fact, rather a series of graphic and forcible pictures than a detailed history. There is a beautiful tribute to Burns, showing how all previous literature had dealt with the cottage for itself and as an object of picturesque interest, but with no voice from the inside until

"A man's a man for a' that."

came to make an epoch in history. Mr. Routledge is no enthusiast for the state church, holding that, during the last century at least, while it retained the affections of the people by its social relations, it did not as a body do anything adequate to its position for the elevation of the masses; and as to secular knowledge, there is one reflection which Massachusetts educators would do well to ponder—that whereas the uniform general system established by John Knox shows as a result that "north of the Tweed every poor boy reads and writes," the English method of leaving each parish to the accident of the local clergyman (we will say school committee) has left the fact that "the farm laborer in the south of England is altogether ignorant as a rule." If the church does not stand in favor, not much more can be said of the bar, and we think there is hardly a single lawyer of eminence—we may perhaps except Erskine—and especially judge, of whom Mr. Routledge speaks with decided approbation. His work tends to prove, what we fear is too often true, that great political and social reforms cannot look for much support to lawyers as a class.

The key-note of the work is the account of certain state trials, chief among which are those of Horne Tooke and William Hone. It is difficult for us in this country and time to conceive a state of things in which the mighty of the land, ministers, peers, and judges, armed with a tremendous law of libel, with a suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and with a retinue of spy informers, were bent upon crushing some poor writer who ventured to give voice to popular grievances. It is almost more difficult to conceive how the victim could have escaped. That time-honored British institution, the jury, is not, we believe, as conducted in this country, regarded with unmixed respect, but it has done work which may cover a multitude of shortcomings. In 1817 that institution was in great danger. The ministers had established the practice of preparing the jury-lists, from which the special jurors were selected; it was Mr. Charles Pearson, a name less known than it deserves, who was mainly instrumental in breaking up the system, and who by a protest in the case of Mr. Wooler, which was met by Lord Ellenborough in a spirit quite different from that which Mr. Routledge in general ascribes to him, secured an independent jury. Mr. Routledge records with keen delight the conflicts of Tooke with Mr. Justice Kenyon, and of William Hone with Mr. Justice Abbott and Lord Ellenborough. A strange sight that of the poor bookseller, in a threadbare suit of black, too poor even to employ counsel, standing up to defend himself in open court. The Government attempted to rest their charge upon profanity, and the first day's trial opened with the reading, by the Attorney-General, of a parody on the Apostles' Creed. "The political aim of the writer was unmistakable, the profanity was not admitted; and as Sir Samuel Shepherd read, the laugh passed from man to man till the whole court was in a roar. In that laugh there was defeat for the Government." Mr. Hone began his defence at first timidly, and then, gaining in firmness, withstood and silenced both judge and Attorney

General; showed that parodies equally or more profane by men high in place, and even divines, had not been prosecuted, and secured for himself a triumphant acquittal. The second day the Lord Chief-Judge Ellenborough took the bench, determined, like Athelstane in "Ivanhoe," to make the audacious intruder from the dingy back shop in the Old Bailey feel the weight of his lance. The avenues to the court were blocked by an eager, decided, and expectant crowd from all parts of London. It was the same story on the new charge: "Personal altercations, fierce on the part of the Chief-Judge, very calm and firm on that of the poor bookseller," ended in repeated victories for the latter, and he was again acquitted. It was thought that the Government would see the folly of their course and desist, but the madness of the gods was upon them, and a third day's trial brought a still more distinguished audience, gathered to witness a similar result. A subscription of more than £3,000 was raised for Mr. Hone's benefit, and Lord Campbell says: "The popular opinion was, however, that Lord Ellenborough was killed by Hone's trial, and he certainly never held up his head in public after."

The final chapters of the volume contain among other things a sketch of the history of the English newspaper press, with remarks upon the course and duties of journalism which may be read with profit by all engaged in that profession; and also an apparently fair estimate of the leading public men in Great Britain of the present day. When one hears a writer like Mr. Baghot, in his article upon Lord Althorp, say in substance that the second Reform bill was a mistake only exceeded in magnitude by the first, there is a pleasant offset in a judgment like this: "It has been argued that in inverse ratio to popular progress has been the deterioration of statesmanship; but the view will stand no test of fair examination. Possibly, with a few exceptions, the present houses of Parliament have no great orators. Certainly both houses possess men whose natural gifts and training qualify them for the responsible duties with which English statesmanship is charged."

#### TREATMENT OF PRISONERS IN THE CIVIL WAR.\*

THE Southern Historical Society has just published the report of its secretary on the treatment of prisoners by the South in the late war—a subject spoken of by us only a few weeks ago (vol. xxiii., p. 385). The report of such a society is entitled to consideration from its source; but we regret to say that its treatment is not judicial, and that it adds but little to our knowledge of the matter. The evidence of abuses at the largest Southern prisons—Libby, Belle Isle, and especially Andersonville—is so extensive and so excellent (including the statements of both the investigating officers sent by the Confederate Government) that general denials by the author, or persons like General Lee, who do not appear to have had any personal knowledge of the matter, will hardly receive the attention the secretary seems to expect, particularly as it appears plainly enough from the report that there is only too much foundation for the charges. The author, however, seems to think that any weakness on this point is fully covered if he can show that the North was responsible for the stoppage of exchange and that Southerners suffered in Northern prisons, having the impression, apparently, that if that were the case no responsibility could afterwards rest on the South; and this seems, curiously enough, to be the position of nearly all the Southern writers who have referred to the matter. Instead of frankly acknowledging and regretting these wrongs, they defend them. Extraordinary as it may seem, this Historical Society justifies the preparations made to blow up the thousand and odd Union officers in the Libby prison at the time when the near approach of Dahlgren threatened Richmond; and no doubt the order of Winder at Andersonville to the same effect appears to these Southern historians in the same light.

After this our readers will not be much surprised to learn that Winder was a gallant hero and Wirz a saintly martyr, though the immediate responsibility for the fearful mortality rests upon them beyond a question. It appears plainly enough from this report that the mortality at Andersonville was almost wholly from diarrhoea, dysentery, gangrene, scurvy, and allied diseases, produced principally by overcrowding, filth, exposure, bad water, and insufficient food, and that all of these, except possibly the last, were easily remediable. There was an abundance of land and timber for extending the limits of the prison, crowded with more than four times the number it could healthily hold. Shelter there was none. Colonel Persons, during the brief period of his command at the first opening of the prison in the spring of 1864, collected lumber for barracks, but General Winder refused to use it, and compelled even the sick in hospital to lie on the ground in such a state that the Confederate surgeons on duty reported that the condition of the

\* "Southern Historical Society Papers," Vol. I., January to June, 1876. Richmond.

hospital "was horrible." This refusal to provide shelter was as unnecessary as the over-crowding. When, on the death of General Winder in the spring of 1865, General Imboden took command, he seems to have had no trouble in erecting dwellings for 1,200 or 1,500 men within a fortnight by the labor of the prisoners, and he mentions the want of shelter as one of the principal causes of the death rate of the previous year. Here again we find it difficult to put ourselves in the position of an historian who thinks that this refusal of General Winder and Lieutenant Wirz to furnish shelter was justified by an attempt to escape made by one of the first parties allowed to go outside the stockade months before. Yet this is seriously said of a prison where in five months about ten thousand men died in an average of less than twenty thousand confined, and in October the deaths were one-fourth of the average number there (1,500 in average 6,200). The drainage and water-supply stand in the same position. Both were foul, when they might easily have been fine. These things were so needless and so fatal that we can well believe Colonel Chandler, who reported officially to the Confederate Government, at the time when men were dying at the rate of over one hundred a day, that General Winder advocated "deliberately and in cold blood the propriety of leaving them in their present condition until their number had been sufficiently reduced by death to make the present arrangement suffice for their accommodation." With such an object before him, there is little reason to doubt the evidence of the bad quality and the insufficient amount of food furnished. The secretary, in his report, quotes three witnesses (Frost, Jones, and Park) to the effect that the same rations were issued to the guard—a disputed point not perhaps very important to settle, as it is not denied that there were abundant supplies at Andersonville and elsewhere in the vicinity, in a region which Sherman found so well supplied, and that our men were starving to death on the rations of unboiled corn-meal alone that were issued to them, while the gifts of charitable neighbors were not allowed to be distributed to them.

The responsibility of General Winder and Lieutenant Wirz for all this cannot be rationally denied; but we could wish for our national credit that it went no further. Unfortunately, the injudicious authors of this report will not allow us to believe so. Early in 1864, soon after the general reduction in rations to the prisoners of war in the hands of the Confederates, attention was drawn to their sufferings. Colonel Persons appealed to the courts for an injunction on the Andersonville prison as a public nuisance. Hon. H. S. Foote, aroused by the Secretary of War's recommendation that no more meat be issued to the prisoners, called the attention of the Confederate House of Representatives to their sufferings, and asked investigation. General Howell Cobb, who had command of the department, investigated the hospitals, and, in the face of outspoken reports from the surgeons in charge, reported that action was not required. Dr. Jones, however, who was specially sent there by the Government for scientific investigation, made a report which, though one-sided and long-winded, showed plainly enough the state of things. Colonel Chandler, who was sent by the Secretary of War, Colonel Seddon, to investigate the charges, briefly reported in August, 1864, that it was "a place the horrors of which it is difficult to describe, and which is a disgrace to civilization," and recommended the removal of General Winder. General Cooper, the Inspector-General, endorsed this report, writing that "Andersonville is a reproach to us as a nation." J. A. Campbell, the Assistant Secretary of War, urgently endorsed the report. General Bragg and General Ransom and others agitated for Winder's removal. Judge Ould made the mortality of the prisoners the ground for a strong appeal to the United States for a renewal of exchange. *And this was all.* Mr. Davis not only refused to remove General Winder, but extended his authority to all the Confederate prisons, which powers he held until his death in the following year. The apologists for President Davis have always contended that he was not aware of the "horror"; and singular as it may seem that a ruler who always made himself personally familiar with even the details of the War Office should not have known of an investigation of such a nature, made in consequence of action of the House, pressed by the principal departments, and made the basis of diplomatic action with the United States, the wrong was so great that we hesitated to believe that Mr. Davis could sanction or defend it. But it appears from this report that Mr. Davis knew General Winder's character, and—we quote his own words in his letter of June 20, 1867—"was *always*, therefore, confident that the charge was unjustly imputed" and that everything was done that could have been expected. We must confess to a feeling of regret that an injudicious advocate has thought it necessary to publish a letter that shows the man whom half of our nation for years delighted to honor, as always knowing the charges and defending the course pursued.

The secretary expends a considerable space upon stories of wrongs by

Northern soldiers, most of which are probably true, but it is hardly worth while to analyze in detail the confused assemblage. Many of the incidents were the unavoidable atrocities of border warfare, not connected with the prisons discussed, and most of the others were exceptional, occurring under officers who were speedily removed, or under unusual circumstances, as appears by the accounts of others in the same report, showing a generally different state of affairs. That sad abuses occurred occasionally is evident enough, but that there was any general ill-treatment for which the Government was responsible there is no reason to believe except certain suspicious statistics of prison mortality made up from statements of Secretary Stanton as to the number of prisoners taken, and a report of Surgeon Barnes giving the total number of deaths. The result of the calculation is startling, for it shows a rate of mortality in the Confederate prisons, excluding Andersonville, only about one-half of that in the Northern. Bearing in mind the great sacrifice of life at Belle Isle and Libby, and the loose way in which the estimate is made from diverse and inaccessible sources, it seems suspicious in the extreme. It has been impossible to learn anything about it from the present Adjutant-General's Office, where the applicant will find himself turned off with some ambiguous statement that the mortality on one side is roughly estimated at 12 per cent., and on the other side at 16 per cent.; and if he asks on which side it was twelve and which sixteen, he is refused further information on the ground that to answer such requests "would require the entire clerical force of the office for about three years." It is to be hoped that under the new Administration this stain on the national honor may be removed. But meanwhile our reputation suffers most seriously from the charge, as any one who remembers the flings of foreign journals will recall with mortification.

*A Mad World, and its Inhabitants.* By Julius Chambers. (London : Sampson Low & Co. ; New York : D. Appleton & Co. 1877.)—Mr. Julius Chambers certainly showed considerable boldness in his voluntary visit to an insane asylum, and if his account of what he saw and suffered there is somewhat over-freighted with enthusiastic admiration of the power of the daily press, it is to be remembered that it is to the daily press alone that the public owes this exposure of the abuses to be found in some asylums. Stripped of its superfluous rhetoric, the book tells us how the author, having readily agreed to feign insanity, studied different books on the subject in order to deceive the experts who should examine him. He had very little difficulty in doing this, and soon he found himself confined in Dr. "Baldrick's" Asylum on the Bloomingdale Road, "a sane man sworn into a maniac's cell in the city of New York at the request of a stranger and on the oaths of two unknown physicians, one of whom had felt the patient's pulse, been with him twenty minutes, and agreed with the theory and views of a professional acquaintance; while the other, an 'expert,' in hopeless embarrassment at the singularity of the case, had been prejudiced against the young man's sanity by the fears and falsehoods of a panic-stricken nurse." Once under bolt and key he saw much that every one will read with painful interest; his room was a comfortless cell, the meals were ill-cooked and ill-served, the patients were harshly treated by the attendants and neglected by the physicians, there were no measures taken for their entertainment, communication with the outside world was denied, and several sane patients were confined without the possibility of escape. The visits of inspectors were merely formal, the asylum was put in holiday rig to deceive them, and they were kept aloof from the inmates. Some of the stories which the author vouches for show the most abominable cruelty on the part of the attendants.

After a fortnight's stay, Mr. Chambers was freed by outside friends, and there can be but little doubt that his full disclosure of what he saw has been, and will be, of the greatest service in removing the shameful faults that have grown up in some asylums, where, on account of the lack of accountability and the absence of outside control, those who are suffering from extreme nervousness and diseased brains have been treated by those in command more brutally than if they were the rudest criminals. The whole story is an alarming one, and we are glad to see by the appendix that Mr. Chambers's revelations produced some improvements. His book deserves to be widely read.

#### BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	Publishers.—Prices
Blaau (Dr. O.), Reisen in Bosnien und der Herzegowina, swd .....	(L. W. Schmidt)
Cameron (V. L.), Across Africa .....	(Harper & Bros.)
De Bos (Prof. L.), Reth Van Winkle ; traduction exacte .....	(Claxton, Renssen & Hasselfinger)
Funean (Florence L.), Lessons in Modelling Wax Flowers .....	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Hall (Dr. W. W.), Dyspepsia and Its Kindred Diseases .....	(E. Worthington) \$1 50
Ka'anaz (Julia), Two Lives: a Tale .....	(D. Appleton & Co.)
La Mescolanza, swd .....	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Miller (Rev. J.), Questions awakened by the Bible .....	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)

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